1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

853 The child is put to breast two days after birth. He is not fed during the intervening period.

854 The cradle is made by the expectant woman's mother or grandmother before the child is born. The baby is placed in it as soon as he is washed. It is bedded with a little Hopi blanket on which cedarbark, [439] rubbed soft, is heaped; after the infant is put in position with his arms at his sides, more bark is heaped on, then the blanket is wrapped tightly about him. Infants are kept in the cradle most of the time until they are able to walk. On the whole, a woman does not carry the cradle much on her back, but more frequently in her arms, in which she resembles the [171] Pueblo woman.[1] This is probably due to the sedentary life she lives. The only reason assigned for the use of the cradle is that it has always been the custom. "If the baby is not placed in the cradle, he may move about and, turning on his face, suffocate."[2] The hoop is designed to prevent this calamity by keeping the mother's blanket off the infant's face and to save him from injury in case the cradle falls. Evidently a larger cradle is made when the infant grows, since one specimen seen, much smaller than the others, must have been that of a young infant. The [842] cradle is kept for the next child when its use is finished. If broken, it is thrown away, not burned, because that would cause barrenness.

The cradleboard consists of an oval frame with nearly parallel sides, across which small sticks are closely spaced except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of two U-shaped rods, with their arms nicely trimmed and lapped. These pieces are green branches which are bent, tied, and buried in damp sand to set in the shape of a U. The cross pieces are placed as close together as possible, being bound to the frame by a continuous strand of sinew or buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. The whole wrapping is liberally daubed with piñon pitch. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) is laid along each side of the frame to cover this wrapping. This is held in place by the tie loops, buckskin thongs, which are always four in number. Two broad tying bands are used: one tied to the uppermost loop, the second to the third loop on the same side. These are tied as shown in Fig. 55. The carrying strap is a broad band, sometimes a Hopi or Navaho woven belt, fastened to the frame one third of the distance from the top. Not all cradles have such straps. The hoop is a broad wicker band. It is made with about forty slender twigs for warps which are bound side by side

[1] I have not seen children carried astride on the back by women nor astride on the hip.
[2] Also for the Papago and Pima the cradle is not primarily for transportation but for the infant to sleep in (Kissell, 148).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

854 at one end. The weft consists of two or three slender twigs which are first passed together under alternate warps; each end is then brought back and passed under the other warps, and so on. The other ends of the warps are similarly bound side by side with sinews, and the ends of the hoop are then lapped and bound together. The hoop is tied to the frame

Fig. 55 (50.2-1216). A Cradleboard.

in the open space at the top and also to the upper cross sticks. Two stay cords extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop.

[531] Dewclaw rattles are sometimes fastened to the hoop. In modern examples a string of beads, blue and white in alternate lengths, is tied back and forth diagonally on the periphery of the hoop. The baby's first

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

854 The baby's first
[852] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared
856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

551

FEMALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
90	kokumá or bokumá, to eat piñon nuts.	Usual name.	ko' or bo', piñon tree or nut.
	sudjigañdjá, unripe things floating.		sówá, unripe; djigañdjá, material covering the surface of water.
94	djčsk', eagle.		

563
551

FOREIGN WOMEN.

23	há'dà.	Yavapai name.	
35	sámi'dídjá.	Walapai name.	
40	djad'ínyúmá.	Walapai name.	
	gátčnyúdává, tattooed.	Yavapai; she is far more tattooed than the Havasupai.	dčnyúdová, face paint, tattoo marks.
69	pagádjahúda, chewing a man.	Walapai: usual name; she said when a girl, "When I grow up and a man comes into my bed, I am going to chew him up"—she married shortly after.	ápa, man; djuínyañgá, to chew; gahúdá, tough.
	sámyókídjá, to pull with the hand.		sól, hand.
79	olaúwá, (fire) coal.	Walapai	

171
854

COMPARATIVE NOTES.

The forms of cradleboard are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map (Fig. 56). The flat type is used throughout the Plateau-Basin and Southwest, the sitting type in California, as among the Pomo, Hupa, Shasta, and Klamath-Modoc (who also use the flat board),[1] and a trough-like affair to the northwestward. The relations within the area are not clear, but it appears that the prevailing pattern is an oval or elliptical outline with local variations. The oval forms are more frequent in the Basin-Plateau; the elliptical in the Southwest. Three structural types are used; the board is made of a single piece of wood, a hoop is provided with transverse or longitudinal bars, or the longitudinal reeds are joined by open twining. The structural basis bears no strict relation to the form.

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 819–821; Dixon, (b), 434; Barrett, (a), 237. Field notes on the Klamath, 1925

[Text continues on p. 317]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

102
171
854

Fig. 88. Distribution of Cradles in the Southwest and Basin-Plateau Areas. Californian sitting cradle and Northwest trough form omitted.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Havasupai type is an elliptical hoop with its long sides nearly parallel, crossed by closely spaced transverse bars. This type is also used by Walapai, Western Apache, and presumably the Seri.[1] The Mohave and Pima have a variant, a U-shaped frame which might be construed as the elliptical form with only one bow. The cross-sticks are lashed at wide intervals but still transversely. The sides however taper toward the bottom so that the board approaches an oval outline. A crude Cahuilla specimen with two longitudinal sticks similarly crossed by splints is of this type. One Miwok specimen is essentially the same; the flat splints are set close together and the ends of the side bars rise over the infant's face.[2] One Wind River Shoshoni form is of the Havasupai type, but it has the oval outline which prevails in the northern half of the area.[3] The Arapaho have a cradle of the same shape made of a framework of sticks, but it is not stated in which direction the cross-rods run.[4] Another variant appears in Round Valley, Pit River (northern California), and in one Konkau Maidu specimen. This is a single bow with the ends brought together; in outline oval above and ending in a point below. This is crossed transversely by slats.[5] It is possible that these, especially the Round Valley form, are related to the Pima, Mohave, and Moapa types. The Salinan type is described as two sticks crossed by smaller sticks: this sounds like the Cahuilla specimen. It is clear that this is at least the flat cradle, not the sitting type of northwestern California.[6]

The elliptical type is quite old in this area. Two specimens of Basket Maker age, the earliest culture now recognized in the Southwest, from Grand Gulch (?) and the middle Chinlee Valley, are of this type. The latter is rather oval. Both have longitudinal rods in a medial position in addition to transverse rods. The arrangement of the rods suggests the Mono-Yokuts-Wükchumni specimens.[7]

A peculiar type of Californian flat cradle is a forked stick set with transverse rods. In the Yokuts form tule reeds are placed longitudinally as well (practically a tule mat). O. T. Mason figures a Tule specimen like this with both longitudinal and transverse rods. The Maidu cradle is a forked stick with the arms joined at the top to form a bow. The cross sticks in this are small and set close together. This form approached the

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 530; (b), 102; Hrdlička, (d), 486, Pl. 32; McGee, 227.
[2] Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1–11014 and 1–10955.
[3] Mason, O. T., (g), 524–5; Curtis, II, ill. after 77; Russell, (d), 103; Lowie, (a), 190.
[4] Kroeber, (b), 67–8.
[5] Mason, O. T., (b), 180.
[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 131.
[7] Kidder, pl. 38c; Morss, 36, pl. vb.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171
854

Round Valley and Konkau specimens, and suggests that this whole group may be looked on as a variant of the Havasupai type described above.[1]

The Basin form is commonly an oval frame set longitudinally with reeds united by open twining. This is found among the Shivwits, in one Paviotso form, and possibly among the Wind River Shoshoni. Among the Southern Ute and in one specimen of uncertain derivation, but probably Wind River, the reeds extend at each end beyond the frame. The Moapa have this Shivwits type, but like the Mohave and Pima the frame is a U-shaped bow with converging ends. The Paviotso variant has the framing hoop in the form of a quadrilateral tapering to the lower end. Mason figures one extreme form of this in which the lower end is so narrow that the board is quite pointed, resembling the Californian types mentioned above.[2] The same quadrilateral occurs with variations among the Washo, Mono (probably both divisions), Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, and Wükchumni.[3] Transverse rods, small and very closely set on the back, also appear on some of the more southerly specimens: Mono, Yokuts, and Wükchumni. (Similar cross rods are seen on the Maidu examples mentioned above.) These Californian types are practically basketry structures: they have no frame or at most a very light one. The quadrilateral cradle with longitudinal rods is then a local type of the San Joaquin-western Nevada district.

In the northern part of the area the cradle is a single piece of wood, a board, of oval shape. This is the type of the Upper Thompson, Eastern Shuswap, Okanagan, Spokan, Nez Percé, Klamath, Flathead, Kutenai, Crow, Blackfoot, Wind River, Uncompahgre, and Southern Ute.[4] In the first three and the last, the lower end is square, not rounded, and some of the Shuswap specimens are angular rather than oval, but these all seem variations of a single type. So much of a Cayuse specimen as is shown in one of Curtis' illustrations shows it is essentially the same shape, but I do not know whether it has a board or basket foundation. A specimen collected by the Wilkes expedition among the "Oregon Indians" is clearly related to these although the upper part has angular shoulders.[5] The

[1] Dixon, (a), 233. Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10730, 1-10779, and 1-2290; Mason, O. T., (g), 823.

[2] Lowie, (i), 250 257; Mason, O. T., (g), 808, 826.

[3] Barrett, (b), 21, pl. XII, Fig. 3; Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10944, 1-10918, 1-2827, 1-10857, 1-10919, 1-10916, 1-10235, 1-10354, 1-10409, 1-4093, 1-10780, 1-10817, 1-10830, 1-3080. Wükchumni model in the possession of A. H. Gayton.

[4] Teit, (a), 308; (c), 584-586; Mason, O. T., (g), 816; Spinden, 225; Curtis, VII, 70, 78; Chamberlain, (a), 557; Lowie, (b), 220; Wissler, (a), 88. Wissler suggests that the Blackfoot specimen of lattice type figured by Mason, O. T., (b), 508 is from the Blackfoot Sioux. Lowie, (i), 250; Mason, O. T., (b), 826.

[5] Curtis, VIII, 74; Mason, O. T., (g), 818.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Wishram cradle is angular, yet seems a related form. The last two and the Klamath, Cayuse, Thompson, and some Eastern Shuswap examples are provided with projecting handles in the middle of the upper end. The Klallam cradle is an interesting modification of the Northwest Coast trough cradle in the direction of these flat board forms. The trough is so slight and so filled with padding, that the child lies on, not in it. Further, the form is that of the Thompson cradle even to the handle[1]. The Cowichan cradle is like this but without the handle[2]. The Lkúñgen cradle for a young infant is presumably related to these flat board forms, although it is made of bundles of rushes, the outer one of horseshoe shape. The first Quinault cradle is also a very shallow rectangular trough, in place of the later trough form.[3]

The wooden cradle is used in the Southwest by the Zuñi, Navaho, and the Hopi of the middle mesa. One of the Zuñi forms and that of the Hopi are rounded on top, square at the lower end, and with parallel sides. These may also be variants of the oval form. The second Zuñi pattern with a terraced top is only a further variation. The Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa have a cradle of the same shape but formed of a U-shaped bow filled in with longitudinal rods held by transversely placed wickerwork. The rounded end is usually at the bottom of these specimens but sometimes it is at the top. It is, of course, possible that this is related to the Moapa type where the longitudinal rods are held by open twining. The Kaibab have also a wicker board, but its shape is not given by Powell. The Navaho cradle presents the most interesting variations of the board form, for here the two projecting points above resemble the points of the Plains lattice frame.[4]

This type, so named by O. T. Mason, consists of two broad sticks converging toward the bottom and crossed by two others. In its tapering form it resembles the oval shapes of the Basin-Plateau. This is used by Comanche, Kiowa, Dakota, and perhaps others. The Mescalero cradle at least is not like these, but apparently a solid rectangular or elliptical form.[5]

The Pima usually have a swing of cloth suspended by ropes; so have the Papago, while the Cora use a swinging netted hoop. The Navaho cradle is sometimes placed in a swing.[6]

[1] Kluxthor, 235.
[2] Field Museum, no. 19020.
[3] Boas, (a), 572. Quinault information from Ronald Olson.
[4] Hough, (c), 241; Mason, O. T., (g), 531–4; Powell, 127; Franciscan Fathers, 469.
[5] Mason, O. T., (g), 538, 511; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 16; Gatschet, (c), 1st ed., 141.
[6] Hrdlička, (c), 44; Bartlett, II, 234; Hrdlička, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 472. The Yaqui cradle described by Mason, O. T., (g, 535) is different from any of the foregoing. It consists of parallel rods fastened by dowels in rectangular form.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171
854

Most of the wooden cradleboards of the Basin-Plateau are covered with skin; those of the Southwest are not. This appears among the Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, on the Oregon specimen of Wilkes, Cayuse (?), Nez Percé, Flathead, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Uncompahgre, Southern Ute, and Arapaho. This is further evidence of the relationship of the cradle among these peoples. However, the use of the cover is a separable trait for it has been applied in the adjacent region to the hoop-and-rod types of the Paviotso, Kaibab, and the Colorado Ute. The lattice type of the Plains is provided with a pouch to hold the infant. Some of the Basin-Plateau types (Upper Thompson, the Oregon specimen, Flathead, Blackfoot, Wind River (?), Southern Ute, and Tule) have something of the sort or else the cover itself forms a pouch. Some connection between cover and pouch may be suspected, but this is difficult to work out from illustrations and descriptions alone.

The hood, arch, or awning which protects the face of the child also offers comparative points.[1] First, it is not used among the Plains tribes considered here (Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Dakota, Crow, Blackfoot) nor northwestward among the Flathead, Kutenai (?), Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, and Nez Percé. It is not used in California, among others by the Round Valley group, with the Tule and Yokuts forked stick cradles, nor by the Yaqui in Mexico.

There are three principal forms of the hood. The Upper Thompson, Lillooet,[2] Wishram, Klamath, and Cayuse have a single stick forming an arch secured to the sides of the frame much in the manner of those in the Eastern Woodlands area. In the Basin and California a triangular awning is used: one blunt apex is usually fastened near the top of the cradle, the base rising above the infant's face where it is supported by a transverse arch. Paviotso, Washo, Mono, Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, Wükchumni, Uncompahgre,[3] and probably Wind River Shoshoni and Southern Ute have this awning made in open-twine technique, with the supporting arch usually at an angle to the board; that is, leaning toward the upper end of the board. The Shivwits awning is simple twine; that sometimes used by the Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa is wickerwork. The supporting arch for these two tribes and probably the Colorado Ute is vertical.

The Southwestern tribes use either a broad arch or hoop, the latter only among the western groups. The Navaho arch is formed by four

[1] Some Californian and Basin hoods are ornamented to show the sex of the infant. One Havasupai hood bore a string of beads arranged in a zigzag and resembling the decoration of a Paviotso hood, but unplotted to enquire if this had any significance.

[2] Teit, (b), 281.

[3] Mason, O. T., (b), 189.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart:[1] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Moapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kaibab. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[2]

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Moapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Wakachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[3] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[4]

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Moapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[5]

[1] *Idem*, 193.
[2] Russell, 140.
[3] Lowie, (i), 285-9; Dixon, (a), 230.
[4] Gunther, 234.
[5] Lowie, (i), 270-2; (a), 211; Parsons, (e); Starr, (a), 42; Corbusier, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 119-120; Russell, (d), 188; Dixon, (a), 233; Faye, 35.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

2:111ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

H2
291
302
531

3-James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

[480
857]

[Facing p. 216]

HAVASUPAI MOTHER AND CHILD.

A FAMILY GROUP OF HAVASUPAIS.

845
●854
285

A

854
524
352
231
142
291

B

Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A, Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C, Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [314] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children.

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone.

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle."

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [482] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

142
291
302
285
353

A

142
291
854

C

Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been air-lifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

844
177

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

593
461
855

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

[854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

603
593
578
604

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric-

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew
854 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
736 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
591 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

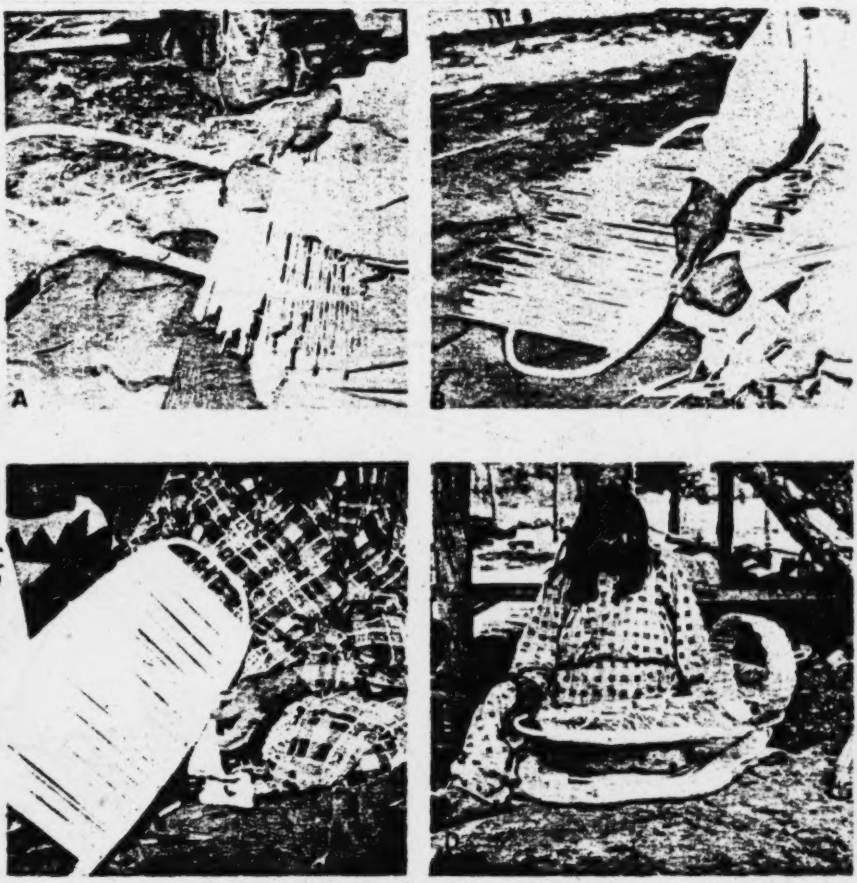
Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285
322
854



142
291
322
285
516
854

[314]

Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lisa Iditicave displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

285
[445 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
537] then with pifion gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[204 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
[439 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are
giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act,
especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to
work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy,
to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal
matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice
of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others,
in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger
character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a
chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor
wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship
term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference.
A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your
mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The
word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his
wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time
she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed
a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in
complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born
child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the
nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is
bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

854
291

Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

177
658
872
361

The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

177
443
655

The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and